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IS COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION POSSIBLE?

Is cooperation with the Soviet Union possible? Should we, time and again, do everything we can to avoid abandoning the principle of international cooperation? Or should we conduct our international affairs without Russian participation in the various conferences, peace treaty negotiations and other meetings where they are wont to be obstructive?

These questions, manifestly pertinent, are most difficult to answer comprehensively. One can only believe that cooperation with the Soviet Union is and will be impossible unless her policies take a quite unexpected turn. Herewith is evidence to prove this point of view.

I

Cooperation is impossible because the Soviets themselves do not believe in the possibility of cooperation.

The Leninist-Stalinist philosophy teaches that peace is impossible so long as the so-called "capitalist" and "imperialist" world exists. In Lenin's works, published before 1924 and re-edited now, in all of Stalin's speeches and writings, especially in his recent writings, in the official gospel of the Soviets, in the History of the Russian Communist Party, and so on, the leitmotiv is that communism and capitalism, Proletarian dictatorship and so-called bourgeois democracy cannot co-exist; sooner or later there will be a collision, a war which will decide which system will prevail.

The guiding thesis of all Soviet activities is the theory that "Either they will crush us or we'll crush them." Symbiosis is impossible because the western conception of the free democratic world and the Leninist-Stalinist conception are as different from each other as sky and earth. I shall try to demonstrate this by the following series of comparisons.

FREE DEMOCRATIC WORLD:

1. The state is the servant of its citizens.
2. Freedom is freedom from fear, freedom of creed, of speech, of vocation or occupation, freedom from needless suffering.

3. Good and bad are constant ideas. They are absolute. Everything good is always good, evil is and will remain evil.

SOVIET SYSTEM:

The citizen is the servant of the state.

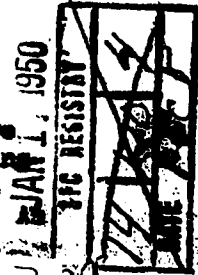
Freedom is a myth embodied in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and non-existent in actual life.

Good and bad are changing relative values. Good is everything serving the purpose of communism. Bad is everything noxious to communism. Communism's needs and temporary

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tactics vary, good and bad vary too. What today is profitable to communism can be tomorrow unprofitable and vice versa. Therefore they are not absolute or everlasting values.

4. All peoples must be given the opportunity to live according to their desire. Therefore, all sorts of political systems are admissible except those which endanger free humanity (e.g. Nazis).

All peoples must live according to the principles of communism as only it will free them from hardship.

5. Human life is precious. People must be given the opportunity to enjoy life. The community must respect individual needs and not violate individual interests. Law must protect individual lives and individual property.

The idea is, above all, people must do everything possible to support communism. People must sacrifice their property and even their lives to create communism and to build a new society. Law must protect the state, its institutions, its property. Individuals must be servants of the community (German Nazis said: Gemeinnutz kommt vor Eigennutz).

6. Nationality must be respected. People must be free to elect their governments. The borders of a country are sacred.

Policy with respect to nationalities depends upon circumstances. A national movement favoring revolution, aiming toward communism, must be supported. To destroy a colonial empire, national groups must be given the opportunity to build autonomous and sovereign states. Their frontiers will be sacred and must be defended from aggression of the bourgeois world. If conditions make it possible to ascend to the next stage, i.e. to create a communist republic, such states must be merged in the "State of the victorious Proletariat", which is the Soviet Union. In a communist world there will be no states, or frontiers. All nationalities will melt together into one nationality, speaking one language. (Stalin's thesis).

Therefore, to realize this aim in the future, steps must be taken now to compel as many nationalities as possible to become citizens of the Soviet Union.

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As a temporary measure, national culture (language, the press, arts, science, etc.) must be supported, but national culture must be national only in its outer features. Its spirit must be proletarian and sovietic (Stalin). In a completely communist, stateless and borderless society, culture will be proletarian and sovietic both in feature and in spirit.

It is useless to quote more examples of Soviet conceptions. Even these few examples prove that the discrepancy in all basic conceptions is enormous. The above comparisons explain the irreconcilability of the present aims of the Soviets and the democratic world. Yet one may retort that all the Soviet theories outlined above are mere theories, that they are only propaganda for domestic use and that the Soviets themselves do not believe what they are preaching.

That those theories are not mere propaganda but the theoretical foundations of all Soviet policy and activity will forthwith be demonstrated.

II.

Even long before the war the peoples of the USSR were being told that the capitalists are enemies of the Soviet Union. A few days after the beginning of the last war, at open and closed party meetings and propaganda meetings of non-members, people were being told that the Soviets and the Allies were struggling against their common enemy. This made them allies. But it did not mean that the interests of the Soviets and the Western Allies were identical. "They help us because they know that without our Red Army they would be destroyed by the Nazis. Willy-nilly they must help us. But, of course, in taking this help we do not intend to betray the principles of Leninism and Stalinism. We know what they want: they want to destroy the Nazis and to create a new sort of Germany which will be a tool in their hands. But it is not our intention to destroy the Nazis only to permit the creation of another capitalist Germany. From this war Germany and all countries occupied by the Germans will emerge as free Soviet republics. We cannot shed the sacred blood of our soldiers only to please Churchill or the American bankers. Germany will be vanquished and all countries will be freed, freed both from Nazis and from capitalists. We cannot shed the sacred blood of our Stakhanovites and workers, of sons of our collective farmers, only to take chestnuts from the fire for capitalists. There are many people expecting our arrival: Turkey, Iran, China, Finland, the Balkan peoples. All of them are longing to join their brethren in the USSR. And they will join us."

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This quotation is taken at random from a speech of the party secretary of one of the quarters of Leningrad early in July 1941. After the inauguration of lend-lease matters did not change. In the many conferences and talks which have taken place with the Soviets since 1945, has any substantial, satisfactory agreement been reached? No. The conferences have resulted in little or nothing - agreement on only a few minor questions has been reached. Essential disagreement is not evidence that Molotov is a bad or a stupid man. Neither is Vyshinsky a bad man, although he is cruel and immoral. They are skillful statesmen. The Soviets simply cannot agree with the West because what is reasonable from the Western point of view is unacceptable to the Soviets as something endangering the fate of communism in the whole world.

A German peace could not be concluded with the Soviets because the latter would acknowledge but one kind of German peace, namely the transformation of Germany into a Soviet republic or at least into a Soviet satellite. Peace with a Germany which remains a "bourgeois" republic is unacceptable to them. How far they go in declaring that a state is bourgeois is demonstrated by the controversy with Tito; even he is a bourgeois. Why? Because there are little deviations in his policies from those of the Soviets. If the Soviets are dissatisfied with Tito, one must realize that their program in Europe and all over the world is 100% communism in the Russian pattern. That is the minimum. They will never agree to anything less.

Since this is the case, there will not be any agreement on Germany. It is obvious that in the foreseeable future a separate treaty will be concluded for Western Germany. This, obviously, would be less difficult than the conclusion of a treaty for Germany as a whole. Eastern Germany will not become part of the new German state. It will become a Soviet satellite. This arrangement will not solve the German problem but then there is no solution for it. The eastern provinces will remain under Polish domination - de facto Russian supreme rule. What can be done? Nothing. Treaties, parleys and conferences will not solve this problem. Thus the fate of Western Germany will be determined by the Western Powers and the fate of Eastern Germany will remain in the hands of the Soviets. The conclusion is patent: cooperation on German problems is impossible.

Turn now to another perplexing problem, that of Japan. Although the Soviets themselves have suggested peace treaty talks with Japan, they will make the realization of a satisfactory peace treaty impossible. Already they have obtained rich prizes from Japan - Sakhalin and other islands. They will not, probably, make further territorial claims. Yet they will insist upon one very simple provision, the withdrawal of all occupation troops. They know that both China and Australia would object to the rearmament of Japan. The Soviets know that a withdrawal of occupation troops would enable them to create conditions conducive to the

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establishment of a communist government in Japan. Of course, the remaining powers would not withdraw their troops if such an eventuality appeared likely but would insist upon a control commission and the retention of some of their troops in Japan. The Soviets might agree to this, but would demand that the control commission and occupation troops include representatives of all participants of the treaty. This would mean that Russians and Chinese communists would participate in the control commission and that the Soviet Union and Communist China would send troops to Japan. The Western powers would not agree to this and an impasse would result. There remains but one way to entice the Soviets. This is to allow the rearmament of Japan. While it is doubtful that Australia could be persuaded to agree to such a policy, the objections of Communist China and even the Nationalist Chinese government could be ignored. Of course, this would mean a separate peace with Japan, for the USSR would not recognize it. Thus in Japan, too, cooperation cannot be expected; it is not possible.

There remains for discussion the extremely complicated Chinese problem. Instead of destroying or retaining the weapons they captured from the Japanese, the Soviets gave them to the communists, thus violating a treaty with the only legitimate Chinese government. Now China is becoming communist. What the Soviets will undertake there is unknown. Yet one thing is known in advance, that the Soviets will not cooperate with the Western powers on China but will, on the contrary, do their best to strengthen communism there and to convert China into their satellite. Thus, in China also, cooperation with the Soviets is impossible.

There remain in addition many other contentious questions. Instead of respecting their treaties, the Soviets will create trouble and try to undermine the work of democratic peoples. The Soviets are now telling their people that the United States is preparing another war. The Marshall Plan is being called a bluff. The Atlantic Pact is being depicted as an instrument of American aggression. American statements are called names and are generally insulted. Even Nazi propaganda was, in peace time, more decent. How can any cooperation be possible under such conditions?

The United Nations Organization is unable to decide upon anything because of Soviet obstruction. There is great danger that this respectable organization may degenerate into a talking shop where the only words spoken in Russian will be either propaganda or insults crowded with the sacramental Soviet veto.

Thus there is no hope of cooperation with the Soviets. Their aims, unswervingly pursued, are opposed to those of the Western powers.

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The recent blockade of Berlin offers a pattern for dealing with the Soviets under circumstances where they are unwilling to cooperate. The air lift nullified the effects of the Soviet blockade. No talks could have solved the Berlin question. Only resolute actions removed the danger created in Berlin. Thus the best method of handling matters in which the Soviets are unduly fractious is to meet the situation with action, in spite of what the Soviets say they intend to do.

The Atlantic Pact has created a new situation, one which compels the Soviets to limit their appetite. Similar regional security pacts between Far-Eastern and Near-Eastern countries plus further foreign aid will demonstrate to the Soviets that they still are weaker than the democratic world. The idea that they are weaker must be stressed constantly. Words, speeches, even treaties and pacts are rarely effective by themselves in dealing with the Soviets. Action is more impressive. To be understood exactly, I must explain what sort of action is meant here.

It would make a profound impression upon the Soviets if the other powers began conducting vital foreign affairs, such as the settlement of the German and Japanese treaties, without consulting the USSR for its refractory opinion. The Soviets would be confronted with a fait accompli, e.g. they would be informed of the terms on which the other powers intend to conclude a peace treaty with Germany or Japan. If the Soviets disagree, the Western Powers would conclude a separate peace.

If the USSR declares it will not acknowledge this peace, ~~what~~ will it matter? It will not. Moreover, in Western Germany this solution seems foreordained, for there is a Western German Federative Republic whose western borders cannot be altered by the Soviets and from which the Soviets cannot arbitrarily extract reparations. A separate peace can be made. It is not particularly relevant whether or not the Soviets recognize it. The government of Western Germany might conceivably even be acknowledged by the majority of the population of the future German state as the only legitimate government of that country and a peace with the Soviets might subsequently be concluded by the German government.

A separate peace treaty with Japan would be much easier to conclude as there is no Russian occupation army. Japan could even obtain a guarantee of protection from the United States under the peace treaty. Thus the Soviets would not dare to attack Japan.

These are only examples of possibilities for effective action. They have been given here to demonstrate that there are alternatives if the present attempts to "cooperate" with the Soviets definitely fail. To all appearances, they will definitely fail, for agreement on Germany and Japan is unlikely. Yet the present situation in Germany and in Japan cannot be extended forever. A solution is urgently

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necessary. As a last means of solution of these and other problems (the Chinese problem, the Korean problem and other problems which as yet have not crystallized but which will arise sooner than one might suspect) there remains but this choice: action independent of the USSR and supported by a firm policy which will guarantee the Soviets that they cannot do everything they want, in spite of all their threats that their state is the most powerful in the world.

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